





## I. W. W. CIGARMAKERS

VINDICATED BY THE SILVER BOW TRADES AND LABOR ASSEMBLY.

Butte, Mont. April 22.—The Industrial Workers of the World cigarmakers here have published the "I. W. W. Cigar Bulletin", which the sub-head states, is "Issued Occasionally To Refute Liars and Establish Truth." On the first and second pages appear the following:

## THE TRUTH AT LAST

The Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly, After Impartial and Searching Investigation, Endorses I. W. W. Cigarmakers and the Universal Red Label.

## REPORT OF INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE

"We, your committee appointed to investigate the charges of unfairness and use and misuse of the red label, beg leave to submit the following report:

"We do not believe that the International Cigar Makers had a right to fine men that they would not take into their union on account of said men using the team system. The evidence as to time and place when fines were levied against the Industrial Workers of the World is not sufficient to support the allegation that Industrial Workers of the World were unfair.

"As to the Industrial Workers of the World men having the right to use the red label, we believe the men are members of the Industrial Workers of the World and have the right to use said label.

"As to the question of duality, we find there is no local cigarmakers' union of the International Workers of the World in Butte, the cigarmakers using the red label still retaining their membership in the Chicago union, and for that reason there is no dual union to the International Cigar Makers' union in Butte.

"We find that the Industrial Workers of the World cigar makers are willing to go into the International Cigar Makers' union providing they can be taken in as team workers, and we recommend that the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly use its best efforts to bring the unions under one head.

W. A. Parker,  
H. A. Weidenbach,  
H. F. Schulz,  
"Committee"

This is the report of the committee from the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly in the case of the industrial cigarmakers who were accused by the enemies of the Industrial Workers of the World of non-union conduct and of duality to the Cigarmakers' International Union.

## A Thorough Investigation

This report was made after a thorough investigation by the committee.

Representatives of the Cigarmakers International Union and of the A. F. of L. appeared before the committee, and were even permitted to examine and cross-examine all of the accused men.

On the other hand, the accused cigarmakers defended themselves personally, depending only upon the facts they were able to present, and the evidence as to their previous records as union men as proven by their former associates.

Not a single representative of the Industrial Workers of the World ever appeared before the committee or even asked to be heard in the case.

## Verdict Unanimous

And the verdict of the committee was unanimous, in spite of the fact that the chairman of the committee, when appointed, asked to be excused BECAUSE HE WAS PREJUDICED AGAINST THE INDUSTRIAL CIGARMAKERS IN ADVANCE OF THE TRIAL, and did not believe he could give them an impartial trial.

## Adopted by Assembly

The report of the committee was unanimous, and it was unanimously adopted by the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly, the oldest and largest central labor body in the State of Montana.

As to the unfairness of the I. W. W. men, the evidence was overwhelming that the accused men had union records absolutely clear; that they were union men as consistently as it was possible for them to be in view of the Cigarmakers' International Union barring them from membership because they worked by the team system. This fact was supported by the sworn affidavits of more than one hundred and eighty former associates of the accused men.

## Debarred Because Team Workers

The question of duality was settled in favor of the industrialists clearly and without a shadow of a doubt when

it was shown that the Cigarmakers' International Union does not claim jurisdiction over cigarmakers working by the team system, and does not permit them to become members of the international.

This placed the team workers clearly among the unorganized, so far as the A. F. of L. was concerned. And when the A. F. of L. deny these men the right to organize under any other form of organization, then the A. F. of L. and the Cigarmakers' International Union place themselves in the position of manufacturing scabs of men who are anxious and willing to be union men.

This entire subject was fully investigated and debated in the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Assembly, and some of the strongest opponents of the I. W. W. are within that body. And yet it was the unanimous judgment of the Assembly that the I. W. W. should be commended instead of condemned for extending its jurisdiction and protection over these cigarmakers who were denied the protection or assistance of a craft organization in their efforts to better their conditions as workers.

## SHERMAN STIRS

## New Castle Workmen—Big Protest Meeting Held.

New Castle, Pa., April 23.—The I. W. W. held a successful protest meeting here on Sunday night, April 22, with Chas. O. Sherman, General President, and Edward Markley of Pittsburg, as speakers.

The Opera House was nicely filled and judging from the applause which greeted the speakers' words, the workingmen and women are realizing to-day that the kidnapping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone is an outrage against the entire working class, whether it be of Colorado or Pennsylvania.

Sherman held his audience so well in hand that after describing the tortures which were inflicted on the Western Federation men during the Colorado strike, he asked: "What would you men do?" "Fight, fight, fight" was the answer from the audience.

Sherman then told them that it was not necessary to spill one drop of blood, but to organize on industrial lines in the I. W. W. and if the capitalist class wanted to fight amongst themselves, let them fight!

Loud applause followed and when the appeal for funds was called for the audience contributed about \$43. Of course, the small bug capitalist will get some of that for rent and printing, the balance will be sent to the defense fund.

Markley followed Sherman. Some men, under certain conditions and circumstances, are forced to make a good speech; and the old veteran proved his ability to espouse the cause of emancipation, but has had another title added to his long list, that of humorist. He laughed it into his audience and pressed home the fact that it was up to the workers to decide whether they were willing to remain wage slaves under capitalism or free men under the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Five hundred copies of the Miner's Magazine and five hundred copies of the Industrial Worker were distributed, and the following resolution adopted:

Whereas, We workingmen and women of New Castle, Pa., do solemnly protest against the secret arrest and kidnapping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, officers and members of the Western Federation of Miners, the mining department of the Industrial Workers of the World; and

Whereas, We believe those men to be innocent of the charges preferred against them by the Mine Owners' Association, said Mine Owners having violated and trampled under foot all rights which every American citizen is entitled to as a citizen; and

Whereas, The only crime Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone are guilty of is the crime of organizing the working class industrially; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we call upon all wage workers to study this question of class solidarity and hasten the day when labor will be so organized, economically and politically, in a solid body strong enough to rid themselves of all law-breaking murdering masters and stand as free men and women under the Co-operative Commonwealth; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to Governor Gooding, a copy to Governor McDonald, a copy to the Daily People, a copy to the Miners' Magazine, and a copy to each of the local papers.

The meeting adjourned with three cheers and a tiger for the I. W. W.

Watch the label on your paper. The will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

## SUMMER CAMPAIGN

Opened on Boston Common—Thoughtful Audience of One Thousand Present.

A battery of the revolutionary army was placed in position on Boston Common at 3 p. m. sharp, Sunday, April 22. It immediately opened fire on the enemy. It was inspiring to see some of the heavier shots go crashing through that great wall of ignorance, behind which has been so firmly entrenched the thieving capitalist class.

Many a workingman who had been taught to believe that wall to be of divine origin—untouchable, and impossible of penetration, was made to see both over it, and through it. Many went home with a level-headed, well formed idea that it was to-day, not only a human device quite possible of being demolished, but that its demolishing will be a finished work in the very near future.

James Corcoran was introduced as the first speaker by Chairman Callahan.

There being several workingmen wrangling in an argument nearby as he took the stand, Corcoran made known to them the original feature peculiar to, and which differentiates: S. L. P. meetings from all others, namely: the fact that all questions, impromptu or otherwise are always answered before closing.

The prime cause of the continued enslavement of the workers as a class is their lack of organization. Let the workingmen, said Corcoran, "kindly listen to what the speakers have to say first. When they have finished, all questions will be answered; those of us who are not satisfied living the life of a capitalist wage slave and wish to rise to a more manly plane, must train ourselves to act in an organized manner, and the time to begin is now."

He had their respect and attention immediately.

The speaker then went on to show the difference between the American Federation of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World, showing plainly why the A. F. of L. was so rapidly disintegrating, and explaining the cause of the marvelous growth of the I. W. W.

"We see, on the one hand," said he, "a set of men (A. F. of L. labor misleaders) being banqueted by the giant exploiters of labor, by whom the working class is so openly despised; and, on the other hand, we see another set of men (the I. W. W., the genuine labor leaders) dragged to prison, although the strumpets of capitalism had to trample the constitution of the United States under foot to do it." He asked his hearers to think it over and draw their own conclusions.

A digression:—Corcoran is the speaker that struck the one effective blow at the wage slave's chain at the late Socialist party Faneuil Hall Moyer-Haywood protest meeting. With cautions to the right of him, cautioning to the left of him, and numerous cocktail pullings behind him, he was given five or ten minutes on the platform.

Like a good workman he swung his hammer and landed fair on the head of the spike that needed it most.

"Where," he called, in ringing tones, "where are Frank Foster and the other so-called labor representatives of Boston? Four citizens, members of the working class, have had their civic rights trampled under foot; have been kidnapped, illegally arrested and dragged to prison. Why are not these so-called labor leaders here to-night to protest against this outrage? Does not their absence at such a time, in such a place brand them as enemies of the working class?" There was a commotion on the platform; palings and flings of painfully interested parties, and before Corcoran could answer his very pointed, and quite natural questions, which he at once started out to do, he was shut off. The audience is still wondering—Where and why? Now to return to the

will be possible when we have 500,000 aggressive members of the Industrial Workers of the World WHO UNDERSTAND THE PURPOSE of the organization. Then will this government be transformed from a political junk shop into an industrial work shop, with every worker in possession of the right to labor, to get in return a full equivalent of his toil. This is industrial freedom! It is good to be enlisted in an effort to accomplish such a purpose, the emancipation of the wage slave! From the protests being held will issue the proclamation.

Tell our fellow workers to keep up the good work. Imprisonment is not defeat. There will always be enough of the working class out of jail to strike for freedom.

Yours fraternally,  
Wm. D. Haywood.

DRAGGING TRIAL.

Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone Case May Not Be Taken Up Till June.

Caldwell, Id., April 20.—In an interview with Judge Smith, Monday regarding the trial of Haywood and Moyer, and as to the time it was likely to begin, the judge said: "I have over two weeks of court at Weiser yet, and have decided to go from there to Owyhee county for the term of court there before opening in Canyon county, so it will be the latter part of May and perhaps the first of June before we get to the big trial. I want to get everything else out of the way, so there will be no bother with other matters." When asked about having this trial at once the judge said it would hardly be wise as the question of the legal right in bringing the men here was in the hands of the supreme court and if they were returned to Colorado, the large expense incurred in a trial at this time would be wasted. Then again the jail at this place is in no shape for any prisoners and is being repaired and enlarged and that will not have been completed for some time. So you can say court will not be opened here before the latter part of May.

War horse Carroll next took the stand as speaker, and soon the smoke of battle hung heavy over the large audience. Among other things, he called their attention to the bouquets which the shameless, braggart, capitalist press was throwing at itself and its master; one sample, "The indomitable American spirit." And they so word it that some readers are led to believe that the wealthy exploiters of labor who have had their slave pens buried down, and who hasten to rebuild them, that they are the constructive element in society; when, as a matter of fact, such a slave pen is to its owner a veritable goose that lays the golden eggs. If it was not rebuilt the exploiter would have to make an honest living. "The indomitable spirit of American graft" is what he is possessed of. "Does he roll up his sleeves and help to rebuild?" It is to laugh. He is away shaking dice at Monte Carlo, or cruising with his private yacht and harem in Southern seas, too cold for him here yet. No, workingmen, you are the ones that will build for him his man-

## THE SMALL STORE KEEPER

Gradually Being Ground Out Between Capitalist Competition and Working Class Poverty.

How do the small storekeepers make a living? This question rises in the minds of many people, says the Kansas City Star.

"In Chicago and New York," says R. L. Gregory, who has been in the wholesale grocery trade most of his life, "people who live in flats or tenements, on small wages, make 'penny purchases.' They buy three cents' worth of flour and use it in gravy because lard is cheaper than butter; they can get a few cents' worth of bacon or a chuck steak or a piece of boiling meat. Cash rules that sort of trade. It provides a hard living for the storekeeper. It's scraping an existence, and nothing else."

"Of course a big part of the business is credit, necessarily. No men are paid their wages in advance. The dealer must be careful about his extensions of credit and see that, except in the most unusual circumstances, his collections are prompt. He can't succeed otherwise."

"I make about \$50 or \$60 a month," said a man who has a small grocery store on East Twelfth street, in the middle of a block, near strong competition. "Everything I sell is sold for cash, too. I make a large number of small sales, five to ten and fifteen cents' worth. People who have small incomes buy just enough to last them supper to the next day's breakfast. If some one came in for ten any night except Sunday night, perhaps, they'd be scraped clean. I don't have to pay for a horse and wagon. I have only one clerk, and he only in the busiest season, which is the holidays. My wife does the clerking when I go to market."

"I clear about \$1.75 or \$2 a day," said a shoe dealer who also does a cobbling business on East Eighth street. "My rent is low now, but the advance in real estate is going to make me move soon, for big buildings are the rule now and landlords can't afford to rent to us little fellows. In former years, up to 1905, I could make \$3 a day, but since then my rent has been raised. Then, too, I'm growing older and can't work so fast."

"You'd be surprised to know how many families live on vegetables," said a man on West Fourteenth street, who makes a specialty of meats, fruits and vegetables. "I don't handle half the supply of meat now that I formerly did. I don't know that I'm in a vegetarian neighborhood; that isn't it. I think people are eating less meat year by year. Perhaps they are living on vegetable soup. I know that soup bones and carrots and onions go here as fast as we get them in. I clear about \$3.50 a day after allowing for all expenses and about eight per cent. on my investment of \$1.50. It's a living and that's all. I have to count my family's grocery bill out of that \$3.50, so you see that although my groceries are bought at wholesale prices I don't have much money left. Still, I'm going ahead slowly year by year."

"At this time of year," said a man who sells butter and eggs exclusively, "we sell mighty little butter. The imitations are the rule. Lard is in big demand, for gravies, I suppose. Gravy is the salvation of poor people, not poverty-stricken folk, but those on small wages. Eggs are getting cheaper now, slowly; but fortunate is the workingman who has a few hens.

"Ordinary people can't afford eggs at thirty and thirty-five cents a dozen. We sometimes sell as few as three eggs, enough for the father's dinner bucket, I suppose. Down this way—on West Thirteenth street—we cater to workingmen mostly, and it is all on credit. If collections are good, and they usually are, I can figure out about \$3 to \$3.50 a day above all expenses."

The corner drug store is a fixed institution in residence neighborhoods. "We have to sell everything except hardware and dry goods," said one of that class. "If we can get people to come in for their stamps and stationery and to use the telephone we get them to buying cigars and candy and soaps and such stuff. The drug part is really incidental about half the time."

Mother! Mothers! Mothers!

Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup; has been used for over SIXTY YEARS by MILLIONS OF MOTHERS for their CHILDREN while TEETHING, with PERFECT SUCCESS; IT SOOTHES THE CHILD, SOFTENS THE GUMS, ALLAYS ALL PAIN; CURES WIND COLIC, and is the best remedy for DIARRHEA. Sold by Druggists in every part of the world. Be sure and ask for "Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup" and take no other kind. Twenty-five cents a bottle.

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

## A CALL FOR VOLUNTEERS!

To attain a more widespread circulation of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, and thus promote Socialism—a united revolutionary economic organization no less than a united revolutionary political organization—we hereby issue a call for volunteers to help increase the circulation of the WEEKLY PEOPLE.

We would particularly address those of our readers who may not be affiliated with either the economic or the political organization, but whose interest is as strong as if they did, to give a hand in this work.

No extraordinary qualification is required in order to get subscriptions, and you do not put yourself under any obligation to subscribers, as they get their money's worth. The only thing necessary is determination.

In calling upon you to help in this important work of propaganda we have no personal interests to gratify. No individual derives any profit from the press of the Socialist Labor Party. The Party has its press but for one purpose—to further the movement.

We doubt if there is one earnest reader of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, one militant Socialist, who will say that he CANNOT get at least five half yearly subscriptions for the WEEKLY PEOPLE!

The issue of the paper in which this call first appears, is dated May 5th, let us see how many volunteers will have responded between this date and the issue of June 9th.

There are no limitations of any kind. We call upon ALL of our readers to help. If you can get yearly subscriptions so much the better. You know the price. Yearly 50 cents; 6 months 25 cents.

Now, then, let us see what a united effort all over the land will produce. If every one works, knowledge of the movement will be greatly extended, and that is the real propaganda. Let there be no "ifs." Every one work. Enlist yourself for this special effort to further the movement!

WEEKLY PEOPLE P. O. BOX 156. NEW YORK CITY.

NO LET UP!  
READY THIS WEEK  
LEAFLET No. 3 ON  
THE COLORADO-IDAHo OUTRAGE

The Mine Owners' Association Conspiracy against Charles R. Moyer, William D. Haywood, and their associates of the Western Federation of Miners, the Mining Department of the I. W. W., must be brought before the great tribunal of Labor—the Working Class of the land. Every workingman must be reached.

To counteract the venom that the capitalist press is spewing forth to becloud and lame the minds of the workers upon this latest capitalist outrage the Labor News will have ready the coming week a leaflet which should be spread broadcast. An aroused, clearly posted and correctly directed working class sentiment will effectively call Idaho, Colorado and other officialdom to order.

Reach the Workers! Organize Committees to distribute the leaflet. If you cannot get others to help start the work yourself. Resolve that you will do your duty! The situation is desperate!

1,000—\$2.25

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copy of their articles, and not to expect them to be returned. Consequently, no  
stamps should be sent for return.SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE  
UNITED STATES:

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
In 1904	34,172

Our doubts are traitors,  
And make us lose the good we oft might  
win,  
By fearing to attempt.

—Shakespeare.

## A VOICE FROM SAN FRANCISCO.

The first letter from a San Francisco comrade, caught in San Francisco by the recent calamity, reached this office on the 25th ult. and is published in this issue. It is published with the fervent hope that other letters may now be on the way from other comrades, long esteemed in the Party for their heart, their character and their knowledge, but of whose whereabouts nothing has been known since the fatal 18th.

To-day's letter is descriptive in the full sense of the term. It describes the physical picture, and also describes the moral and sociological aspect of the wilderness that only recently was a bustling city.

Owls of wisdom and philosophy, but experts in the cynicism needed to palilate the sins of capitalism, jeer at the "moral" that is being pointed out. No doubt much of this moral is spineless. And yet the "moral" talks loudly.

The earthquake itself may be put in the catalogue of "visitations" that man can not foresee, least of all guard against. To the extent that wealth and life was lost thereby, there is nothing to do but bow in humble resignation before a force that man can not control. But the wealth destroyed and the lives taken by the earthquake itself is but a small percentage of the damage done. The overwhelming majority of the wealth destroyed, of the lives lost, of the anguish suffered in San Francisco was caused not by the earthquake. The earthquake played only a remote part in that—the immediate cause was the vices of the capitalist class. It is fire that devastated San Francisco. True, the earthquake broke the water mains and crippled the power to fight the conflagration. But what was the real and immediate source of the conflagration? What fed it? The large number of rickety and even frame houses that should long ago have been torn down, and made place for fire-proof buildings. But no, so long as there is a penny's profit to be drawn from his old investment, the capitalist will keep the old thing in existence. That fact explains the continuance of horse-cars in New York in these days of electricity, it explains the continuance of antiquated machinery where improved machinery should be at work; it explains the "imprisonment" of great inventions, which are not allowed to be put in operation lest they interfere with older methods from which profit can still be extracted—it explains the continuance in San Francisco of frame houses, a perpetual threat to the city's safety. That in these frame-houses only workmen were huddled only underscores the "original sin" so to speak; this latter circumstance is only one of the incidental manifestations of which the brutal riding over a child by a fleeing capitalist in his automobile is another.

Capitalism to-day only holds civilization back. Wellbeing, human safety and happiness—the only goal of civilization—these are not promoted to-day, they are hampered, where they are not hamstrung, by capitalism. Such a social system necessarily breeds inhumanity. What with its "economics" and its "ethics", capitalism perpetually exposes society to such physical and moral catastrophes as our San Francisco catastrophe depicts.

SENSE AND NONSENSE OF  
CAPITALISTS.

The Denver "Republican" of April 4th devotes its leading editorial to a denunciation of the I. W. W. The paper's wrath can be condensed in few words. "Other Unions are conservative; they do not mean to fight the employers; the I. W. W. is revolutionary; it is organized to fight the capitalist class." There is a deal of sense, and not a little nonsense in these words. The matter bears close connection with the subject of the article "Science in Cap and Bells", reproduced in this issue.

"Crank" again was the epithet

sue upon request, together with the answer given, also in this issue, to a New York correspondent—W. W.

No doubt there are Unions that do not mean "to fight the employers", meaning, of course, thereby the class of the employer; and no doubt the I. W. W. is organized to fight just that class. So far there is sense in the words of the Denver "Republican". It is an evidence of sense, for which the paper deserves credit, that it realizes that the test of "conservatism" or "revolutionary" in a Union is its attitude, not towards an individual employer but towards the employer as a class. It is, however, an evidence of nonsense, for which, likewise, the paper deserves full credit, when it hogs to its capitalist heart the Union that is "conservative".

The economic organization of workingmen, the Union, in short, is the reaction which follows capitalist action. This action lies in the fated unavoidable pressure to lower the "standard of living" of the Working Class, or, using the technical economic term, to lower the exchange value of the commodity labor-power steadily down to a declining price, that is a declining wage. The process produces upon the mass of the proletariat the identical effect that geologists tell us is produced by the cooling process of the earth. As the cooling, and consequent shrinking process goes on, there is a subsidence on, mountain-making, and finally ripping, which, offering a vent to central heat, breaks forth in volcanoes. So with the capitalist process of reducing the standard of living—it produces the counter-stroke of the Union. There is, consequently, no Unionism worth mentioning that is a rose to capitalism. The difference in Unions is simply—and not very "simple" is the difference—that one set is not conscious of the cause of its birth, the other is. The Unionism that is unconscious of the cause is a smoldering volcano; the Unionism that is conscious is a volcano in eruption. Bodies of men not being inanimate matter, there follows the specific difference that Unions that are conscious of their cause act intelligently—they march with deliberation to their goal, to the overthrow of the capitalist class, they are healing surgeons of society; Unions that are unconscious of their cause move helter skelter, blindly, they also cut into the flesh of the body social, but the cuts they make are the cuts of the bungling surgeon, hurtful.

In the language of Marx—the capitalist class has everything to fear from the ignorance and everything to dread from the intelligence of the Working Class. There is no balm for capitalism in the Gilead of either the Sense or the Nonsense of the Denver "Republican"—thanks to the law of capitalist motion itself.

## TAFT'S UNFELICIOUS WORDS.

Speaking to the students of Yale on April 23d, Secretary Taft alluded to the Socialists as "cranks," and added "that will pass." These words are unfelicitous.

A "crank" is a thing that creates revolutions. It is an implement known even in countries where the mechanical arts are at a low level. In so far as the term is applied to men, the article so designated is no stranger anywhere. Everywhere, to the sorrow of the Tafts and the greater sorrow of the Taftees, the thing is well known, and known in all languages.

"Crank," in good old Tacitonian Latin, were the Christian propagandists called in the days of Tacitus; and, as if to furnish one more evidence to the fact of the oneness of the human mind, the passing of those "cranks" was confidently predicted.

"Crank," in dog-latin and in the several vernaculars of northern Europe, was the term with which the Hussites, the Wycliffites, the Lutherans were successively dismissed—and they certainly cracked the comforts of their supercilious contemporaries.

"Crank," with good round oaths attached, was the Cavalier term for the Roundheads who eventually centered around Cromwell. They "cranked" the feudal rule of Britain and they "cranked" Charles I out of shape, nor yet did they "pass away."

"Crank," in the choicest French of the elite of Louis XV., were the oncoming bourgeois styled—the Turgots and Rousseaus and the Mirabeaus, who, with science, however fractional, and with sentiment not at all fractional, propounded views that evoked the merriest peals of silvery laughter from the décolleté dames of the Oeil de Boeuf.

"Crank," said the itinerant courtiers, the Tafts of the British Crown, when struggling bourgeois and still colonial America was laboring to snap the feudal trammels to commerce. And how those "cranks", led by their Franklins and Madisons, their Adamses and Washingtons, cranked the British regime out of joint.

"Crank" again was the epithet

## SCIENCE IN CAP AND BELLS

(Reproduced from Daily People, Dec. 8, Weekly People, Dec. 16, 1905.)

The capitalist class of Vancouver, B. C., have cause to rub their hands with glee. Capitalist economics and sociology are poisonous enough, God knows; but the worst possible thing is the false pretense of Socialist economics and sociology. Whether the pretense is intentionally or unintentionally false, makes no difference. Stupid love works as much injury as deliberate hatred. It matters not whether the "Western Clarion" means to befuddle the workers of its vicinity or not, certain is the conclusion that its idiotic editorial utterances—given, as they are, as though they were choice chunks of wisdom snatched by the "Western Clarion's" Moses amidst thunder and lightning from the top of the Sinai of Marx—can not choose but cripple for life the intellect of the unwary who imbibe them. One of these latest choice chunks of economic and sociologic idiocy, ladled out as Marxism, is the editorial article that the "Western Clarion" perpetuates on the 18th of last month against Unionism.

The groundwork of the argument is a travesty of the Marxian law of exchange value, applied to the merchandise labor-power. In the chapter on Relative Surplus Value, in Marx's "Capital", the fact is expressly stated that one of the methods that the capitalist adopts with the view of increasing his surplus value is to lower the wages of the laborer below the value of his labor-power, and that this method PLAYS AN IMPORTANT PART IN ACTUAL PRACTICE. The consideration of this method, it is there also expressly stated, is temporally left aside. Later on, in the course of the work, this method of lowering the wages of the laborer below the exchange value of his labor-power, is taken up by Marx in all its ramifications and shown, indeed, to "play an important part in actual practice." Of all this the uncommonly self-satisfied wiseacre Editor of the "Western Clarion" knows nothing, and seems to care less. True to the principle that a little knowledge puffeth up, he prances around with the Marxian abstract law of exchange value and the "reasons"—commodities exchange in the market according to their exchange value: occasionally there are perturbations in this law: such perturbations are at the most but temporary: eventually exchange, "like water, finds its level:" therefore (sic), whatever the incidental disturbances in the labor-market, they are only temporary, the commodity labor-power "will refuse to exchange for any considerable length of time except upon a correct basis," the basis of its exchange value!!! Daily experience tells a different tale; to palm off such fustian as Marxism is positively grotesque.

The commodity cloth and the commodity labor-power fare, as Marx puts it "in actual practice" materially different. With cloth a large supply is an indication of less social labor required for its reproduction, and, inversely, a small supply is an indication of increased social labor required. Consequently, however the money price of cloth may fluctuate in the market, owing to temporary perturbing causes, the money price and the exchange value of the cloth will in the long run coincide: the determining factor in the money price will be the exchange value, unaffected by the supply, the supply being, as shown above, nothing but a reflex of the exchange value of the cloth. The commodity cloth, accordingly, will, indeed, "refuse to exchange for any considerable length of time except upon a correct basis"—value for value. How, however, stand things in actual practice with the merchandise labor-power? Is, with labor-power, the increase or decrease of its supply a reflex of its exchange value? By no means, and eloquent is Marx upon the subject. With labor-power, as with cloth, the exchange value depends upon the identical factors, but with labor-power, differently from cloth, the source of increase or decrease in the supply is different. It is not a decreased or increased quantity of social labor, embodied in the

hurled at the Lovejoys and Garrisons by the Bourbon South and her putty-face North. "It will pass," was the confident prediction when Abolitionists were tarred and feathered, ridden on rails, and John Brown hanged.—And yet what a sorry picture did the then Tafts cut at Appomattox!

There is a fatality in the word. It may be nothing but a superstition. But why tempt the Gods? Our Tafts, who they would be good to themselves and not invite stores of woes for their youthful listeners, should use some other word than "Crank" against the Movement that, as sure as fate, is approaching to their doom. Some other word might, perhaps, conjure away the doom. The use of the same historic term looks like a defiant challenge to the Inevitable.

laborer's necessities of life, that raises or lowers the supply of labor-power. The supply of labor-power in the market is affected by causes of different category—to day the principal cause is the displacement of labor and the expropriation of the middle class by improved machinery and methods of production. These are not transitory, they have become continuous forces. Consequently, with labor-power, the perturbing cause is not a casual, it is an abiding pressure. When bourgeois economists account for the price of cloth by "supply and demand" they but betray the superficial nature of their science. With cloth, as with all other commodities, labor-power excepted, "supply" and "value" hang together, the former, however, depending upon the latter. With labor-power, "supply" and "value" are independent features. The perturbing cause of an ever rising supply operating permanently upon the exchange value of the merchandise labor-power, the money price thereof, which is the wages that the workingman receives, is permanently lowered; that money price can no longer coincide with the exchange value of the merchandise labor-power; the exchange value of that exceptional commodity can not, "like water, find its level;" that exceptional commodity can not "refuse to exchange for any considerable length of time except upon a correct basis"—value for value; that exceptional commodity is compelled to exchange upon an entirely different basis, the basis of distress. What happens exceptionally with other commodities is, in "actual practice," to use Marx's words, the imperative rule with labor-power. Of this radical difference, which arises from the respective sources of all commodities, labor-power excepted, on the one side, and the commodity labor-power, on the other, the flippant philosopher of the "Western Clarion" has no inkling, and the shallowness of his Marxism disables him from appreciating the weighty sociologic phenomena pointed out by Marx as the consequence of the difference and throws him heels over head into his next "scientific" balderdash.

With the asinine economic theory that the commodity labor-power exchanges value for value as its foundation, the "scientific" "Western Clarion" raises a sociologic structure to match. According to that luminary the struggle of the Working Class against the Capitalist Class is "the attempt of workmen to compel the exchange of their commodity labor-power for more than its actual cost in labor time"!!! If the workman is attempting to secure a wage larger than the cost in labor time of this commodity labor-power, it must follow that he is now receiving a wage equal to the cost in labor time of his commodity labor-power. There would be no Labor Question to-day, and the "Western Clarion" could not have sprung up like a weed, drawing nutriment from that soil, if that were the case. Whether the money price, that a workman receives for his commodity labor-power, be a dollar or a nickel, it would be all one to him, provided that dollar or nickel represented the exchange value of his necessities of life, that is, the exchange value of his commodity labor-power. If the exchange value of his necessities of life, that is, his labor-power, rose and his price, that is wages, kept step with the rise, he would be no better off; neither would he be the worse off if his price went down correspondingly with a declining exchange value of his necessities of life. In either case, true or obedient to the law of the "vis inertiae," which rules animate as well as inanimate nature, he would rest satisfied. The capitalist might, by the aid of improved methods of production, raise his relative surplus value mountain-high and revel in proportional luxury, while the workman remained where he was, and yet nothing would be doing. The sight of affluence not enjoyed by himself, might kindle envy in the workman's breast, it might even prompt to theft as a result—but envy never was and never could be the goad to a great historic Movement. In short, it is the "action" that one might expect from a gun charged with powder and 10 balls—noise and nothing more. Where except under the cap and bells, could hope in such scatterbrained "action" find lodgment?

Next to pure and simple Unionism, the science in cap and bells on which the "Western Clarion" rests its pure and simple political Socialism must be dearest to the capitalist heart.

"May", say the news despatches "looms with events for Europe". So does it loom with events for the United States; for during May, the Moyer-Haywood trials will begin. On their outcome will depend much of the future of American society. They will determine whether the capitalist class will recede from its infamous course against labor, or labor will be forced to revolt in order to assert its rights.

Watch the label on your paper. The will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second the day, third the year.

## LETTER BOX

S. D., PROVIDENCE, R. I.—There is no such thing as "the vow of poverty." What usually goes by that name is a "vow" that insures to the taker of the "vow" three square meals, clothing, wash, fuel and shelter—a good deal more than the average human being enjoys under capitalism.

F. J., CLEVELAND, O.—Wherever a stuffer is found, there will be found a man to whom it is pleasing to be stuffed. This is but an application of the Carlylian principle that "dupe and knave are obverse and reverse of the same medal."

J. H. B., PITTSBURG, PA.—The advantages for instruction that capitalism offers the workingman are mainly intended in the way that sheep raisers offer advantages to their sheep—so the sheep may yield more wool for the fleecer to fleece. For all that, the workingman should avail himself of all such advantages that the capitalists offer. He is entitled to them all. It is only a small return for the plunder upon him. Only, he should use such advantages to equip himself for emancipation.

C. A. P., CHLORIDE, ARIZ.—The cause of the split in the S. L. P. in 1899 was that one set believed in revolutionary Unionism and another set believed in acting as candle-holders for Gompersism. The latter set pulled out and it humbugged the Debs Movement, which had just started in the West, into taking them in, and the two formed the S. P. Since then that Gompersite set have been seeking to drag the Debs Movement down to their level. That the genuine Debs Movement is getting "onto" them appears from the stand Debs himself has taken on the theory of "exclusive boring from within," and the steady run of first class material from the S. P. into the S. L. P.

A. A. D. P., CANTON, O.—The difference between the I. W. W. and the K. of L. is vast. The K. of L. was no more an Industrial organization than are the A. F. of L. Unions that embrace more than one trade. The K. of L. sought, just as the A. F. of L., to "reconcile Capital and Labor." A few disconnected utterances apart, the K. of L. was bourgeois radical. It talked about "bringing the producer and the consumer together." May cover the subject more fully by article.

J. F. V. T., WHITE PLAINS, N. Y.—The criticisms of Marx by Van Buren Denslow show he has not studied Marx. Marx does not claim value is an indispensable result of labor, as the Professor alleges.

First of all, Marx expressly shows that labor bestowed upon matter that has no use-value, and also labor expended in amounts larger than socially necessary, does not determine value in the market.

Secondly, the very first line of "Capital" limits the subject to "commodities."

That defines the field—the staples of production, next, the things that civilized man needs. Antiquated guns and cast-off skins of animals in the Zoo are no such staples. The professor was, on this head, answered in advance by Marx's answer to Prudhomme—"The Misery of Philosophy." In fact he was answered even earlier by Ricardo.—Next points next week.

A. J. L., NEW YORK—It is time wasted to, attempt to convert the old cigarmaker Simon, like Berlin of Chicago and such others, to the I. W. W. Their horizon is limited by the safety of their coffin, which the Gompers cigarmakers' Union guarantees to them. Nothing but the actual Revolution will raise such people out of and above the土壤 into which they have worked themselves. The blows, withheld from such people in the idle hope that they may be converted, only delay the conversion of others who are convertible and who would be kept in the dark, were it not for the blows dealt to the incurables.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN—Wait till next week for answers. No time this week.

R. L. M., PITTSBURG, PA.; F. O. LONG ISLAND CITY, N. Y.; O. N. M., WILMERDING, PA.; J. V. MILWAUKEE, WIS.; A. M. ROCHESTER, N. Y.; C. F. D., SPOKANE, WASH.; L. F., YOKOHAMA, JAPAN; A. R., FARDO, S. D.; W. S., HARTFORD, CONN.—Matter received.

The San Francisco bankers plan to borrow \$100,000,000 from the Federal Treasury at 2 per cent. When the farmers, overloaded with mortgages, in the early '90's, demanded sub-treasury loans on the same basis, these same bankers howled "Socialism", in order that the financiers might continue to fleece the farmers. It is capitalist philosophy to use misfortune for capitalist profit. This it is that gives consistency to their apparent inconsistency.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I've got you Socialists at last!

UNCLE SAM—You might have got us at first, perhaps—perhaps—if you tried it sooner.

B. J.—No joking, I have got ye.

U. S.—How?

B. J.—I'll tell ye. And I'll also tell ye how at one fell swoop I'm going to get even with you. You have been calling me all manner of names—"noodle," "lunkhead"...

U. S.—"Donkey"—

B. J.—Yes, "donkey," too; and heaven only knows what else. Now, I'm going to soak all that back to ye.

## CORRESPONDENCE

Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.

## "VALUE", "WAGES", AND OTHER THINGS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—You may imagine my astonishment to find in last week's "Worker" almost two of that paper's long columns taken up with an alleged answer by Mr. Lucien Sanial to the cogent critique made in the Daily People of March 27, of poster No. 2, issued by the International Institute of Social Science. The critique made by the Daily People was borne out by the facts quoted from the poster, as myself and friends compared them, and they are substantiated by Marxian doctrine in economics and sociology, well expounded in numerous articles in the Daily People, and almost every week illustrated by some lucid Letter Box answer to some correspondent or other. Among these articles I have a distinct recollection of a recent one, entitled "Science in Cap and Bells". The article laid out another bogus Marxian economist somewhere out West, who paraded the identical error pointed out in the poster, and held the same error that this Mr. Sanial now holds on the subject of the "Value of Labor Power" and "Wages". I remember that the article showed the intimate relation that there is between sound economic theory and practical work. It enabled me to understand the Union Movement, the reason for which had never before been clear to me. That article appeared in the Daily People some time during December, as near as I can recollect. The article handled the "value" and the "price" of labor, or wages, and it proved conclusively by a passage from Marx the difference between the value and the price of labor, the reason for the difference, and the serious mistake in tactics that results from not knowing the difference. The answer of Mr. Sanial, who seems to be the International Institute of Social Science, is about the most brazen affront I have yet seen offered to sense and decency. The man puts lies in Marx's mouth, he lies about what his own poster contains, he lies about the critique in the Daily People, and he fairly revels in personal abuse and mud-slinging. You may think that the nauseating mudslinging in the answer will be sufficient warning against the errors that it preaches. Perhaps you are right about that. The man reminds me of those mendicants one sees occasionally along the street exhibiting some disgusting-looking ulcer to the wayfarer. His whole answer, you may say, is but such an exhibition of an ulcer that is eating him up. I would, all the same, request you, for the sake of the importance of the issue involved in the matter of the difference between the value of labor and wages, to give the man a thorough drubbing. But if you will not do that, I request the reproduction of the article "Science in Cap and Bells." The cap and bells fit and they should ornament the International Institute of Social Science.

W. W.  
New York, April 24.

Our correspondent is right. The scientific fact that the exchange value of labor-power and the wages received by our workingmen, that is, the price that their labor-power fetches in practice, are fundamentally different, is a fact of grave practical importance—especially in these days of Union reconstruction. In deference to this fact The People accedes fully to our correspondent's request to reproduce the article "Science in Cap and Bells" from the Daily People of last December 8, Weekly December 16th; The People also accedes, though only in part, to our correspondent's other request that we take up the answers made to The People's criticism by the gentleman who has expanded his name into "International Institute of Social Science."

The People's criticisms were three in number. We shall reproduce each, follow each up with the answer, only so far, however, as these answers can be picked up with a pair of tongs out of the mire of coarse vituperation in which they are imbedded, and subjoin The People's reply to each.

The People's first criticism ran as follows:

"The wages received by the workingmen (census 1900) are made to appear in the poster as part of the 'Total VALUE of labor power used in production'. The including of 'wages' in the term 'VALUE of labor power' is false economics. The error is all the more serious seeing that, of the amount (\$5,15,00,000) denominated 'Total value of labor power used in production', more than two-thirds (4,12,00,000) are admittedly wages. Even if the remaining less than one-third (1,02,00,000) given as the 'value of labor' in the product

of this abstract line of theory Marx breaks off and pauses to utter a warning. A monumental fact stood before his clear eyes—the historic fact that, in its headlong career for increased surplus value, the capitalist class does not IN PRACTICE, wait for the cheapening of goods to cheapen the value of labor-power before it pays a lower wage to its workmen—the towering historic fact with all its economic bearings that, IN PRACTICE, the capitalist class takes an "active hand in evolution" by ever anticipating a lower value of labor power through the paying of a wage, or money price, below the value of labor at any given period, and artificially producing the conditions that compel the workingman to submit to a lower and ever lower standard of living. No doubt there also stood before Marx's all-embracing mind, the experience of the readiness of untrained minds to seize upon a theory, proceed from it regardless of serious, modifying circumstances, and indulge in the affectation of "scientific" profundity by a mere display of mechanical reasoning, that leads to egregious error. With these towering facts and experience rising before him, Marx paused, pointed warningly to the fact that in the supposed constant working day of 12 hours, the capitalist could also increase his surplus value "by lowering the wages of the laborer BELOW THE VALUE OF HIS LABOR-POWER", and he added—"DESPITE THE IMPORTANT PART THAT THIS METHOD PLAYS IN ACTUAL PRACTICE we are excluded from considering it at THIS PLACE by our assumption"—an assumption under which, at that place, during the abstract consideration of the theory of relative surplus-value, he is only temporarily proceeding—"that all commodities, including labor-power, are bought and sold at their full value" (p. 302, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., edition of 1896.)

"As regards labor power—That under capitalism the working power that can be made to flow from the human being is also a commodity—and, as such, is subject to the Law of Value and all its corollaries. Its value therefore, is determined by the amount of social labor embodied in the necessities required to produce and maintain it. .... And since Marx has established beyond dispute that on an average Price and Value coincide, it is manifestly absurd to say, as De Leon does, that what the wage worker gets is not the value but the price of his labor power. He gets the exact value in money and with the money gets the value in necessities".

The People's reply to this is:

The reader is invited to open "Capital" at the Chapter 12, Part IV.—"The Concept of Relative Surplus-Value." Marx is there elucidating the abstract workings of capitalism in its upward development, unaffected by any perturbing causes. He has shown before whence profits proceed. To make his point clear he has assumed—and expressly stated it is a mere assumption—that the capitalist pays in money the full value for the elements of production, that is, labor-power, as well as raw material, etc.; and he has shown that the capitalist derives profit, even after paying the full value of labor-power, by reason of the use-value, or quality, of the commodity labor-power, that quality being the yielding of more values (surplus value) than its own exchange value amounts to. Capitalism is thus analyzed at its state of statics—rest. Beginning with the said chapter 12, Marx considers capitalism in its state of dynamics—its stage of progression. He then assumes a constant work-day of 12 hours, he assumes 10 of these 12 hours to be the equivalent of the labor time necessary to produce the value of the labor-power that the capitalist paid for, and he shows that, then, there would be only 2 hours left for the workmen to produce surplus value for the capitalist. He then asks: "How can the production of 'surplus value be increased?" Still proceeding upon his assumption that the capitalist pays value for value, Marx answers the question by saying that, seeing that the amount of surplus value is ascertained by deducting the necessary labor-time from the total working day, it follows that an increase of surplus value must of necessity originate in the curtailment of the necessary labor-time, and that that would require a decline in the exchange value of the necessities of life which go to determine the value of labor power. Consequently, the capitalist must and does revolutionize the technical and social conditions of those branches of industry, whose products determine the value of labor-power, and thereby steadily revolutionizes the whole system of production. The cheapening of goods, needed by the workman, reduces the exchange value of his labor-power; the reduction of the exchange value of his labor power reduces, in turn, the labor-time needed for him to reproduce his own exchange value; and thus the difference between that necessary labor-time and the working day leaves a larger number of hours for the production of surplus value for the capitalist. The argument there is the obverse of the historic analysis found in Part VIII of "Capital". The claim that the lowering

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price, fetched by the commodity labor-power in the labor market due to the creation by the capitalist class of conditions, at first artificially started and since then running their course, whereby the workman's standard of living is steadily depreciated—the claim that such a lowering price is exactly like the lowering price of all other commodities, and that the steadily reduced standard of living of the working class determines the value of its exchange value—in short, the claim that what happens with all other commodities is exactly what happens with the commodity labor-power, in the long run its "price" averages its "value"—such a claim appeals to the score alike of science and of common sense.

To sum up:—The price of commodities averages in the long run their exchange value. Labor-power is a commodity. As such it partakes, of many a feature of other commodities. False, however, is the statement that labor-power is "subject to the Law of Value and all its corollaries" to which all other commodities are subject. As a generalization it is useful to assume 'the identity in the long run, of the value of labor-power with its price, as is the case with other commodities. The assumption is needed to establish the principle of surplus value in its theoretic purity. The "PECULIAR FEATURES", however, of the commodity labor-power take it, "IN ACTUAL PRACTICE", outside of the law of value to which all other commodities are subject. The price of a yard of calico may oscillate above and below its exchange value; in the long run, in its instance, price will average value. Otherwise, however, with labor power, "IN ACTUAL PRACTICE", the capitalist method of paying below the value of labor-power plays so "IMPORTANT A PART" that whatever oscillations there may be in the price, the oscillations rarely rise above the water-mark of value. They take place beneath that water-mark, and they tend ever lower. The reason for this phenomenon IN ACTUAL PRACTICE is that the "PECULIAR FEATURES" of labor-power lie in that upon it alone, out of the whole range of commodities, the scores of causes, that PERIODICALLY affect adversely the price of other commodities, may, with substantial accuracy, be said to press PERMANENTLY upon the commodity labor-power. In the article "Science in Cap and Bells", republished upon request in this issue, an important one of these causes is treated. Finally, and as the pregnant result, worth all the time that may be devoted to what seem too abstract a scientific question for practical purposes, "THERE WOULD BE NO LABOR MOVEMENT, AND UNIONISM WOULD BE AN ABSURDITY, but for the fact that the price of the merchandise labor-power steadily tends below its exchange value. As shown in the article "Science in Cap and Bells", the mere lowering of the money expression of the value of labor-power would not affect the status of the working class. The law of the "vis inertiae" would keep the working class content. The continuance of its status, through its receiving its "exact value," might arouse sporadic envy at the towering affluence, that, through the rise of surplus value, it yields to the capitalist. Revolt never. In the very fact that the status of the working class is lowered, in the very fact that its earnings steadily tend below its value—IN THAT FACT LIES THE ASSURANCE OF THE OVERTHROW OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS—IN THAT FACT LIES THE INSTRUCTABILITY OF UNIONISM, the notion of the distractability, or eventual wearing out of which is the broken reed on which pure and simple political Socialism leans.

Finally, the language of Marx on the subject is explicit, not only in what may be termed his "code of thought", but also in what may be termed his "code of action". Proceeding from the view point of the supreme practical importance of the subject, Marx branches off for a moment from the question of economics to that of Unionism, or the economic organization of Labor, and he drops by the way two thoughts, which, couched in his habitually careful and incisive language, may be fittingly cited as the close of this argument. On page 74 of "Value, Price and Profit," already quoted from, this statement occurs:

"I may answer by a generalization, and say that, as with all other commodities, so with labor, its MARKET PRICE will, in the long run, adapt itself to its VALUE. .... But THERE ARE SOME PECULIAR FEATURES WHICH DISTINGUISH THE VALUE OF LABORING POWER, OR THE VALUE OF LABOR, FROM THE VALUES OF ALL OTHER COMMODITIES". The striking contrast, into which this sentence throws the "generalization" with the "actual practice", settles the point. The rest of the passage elaborates the "peculiarities" of the commodity labor-power. The argument there is the obverse of the historic analysis found in Part VIII of "Capital". The claim that the lowering

price, fetched by the commodity labor-power in the labor market due to the creation by the capitalist class of conditions, at first artificially started and since then running their course, whereby the workman's standard of living is steadily depreciated—the claim that such a lowering price is exactly like the lowering price of all other commodities, and that the steadily reduced standard of living of the working class determines the value of its exchange value—in short, the claim that what happens with all other commodities is exactly what happens with the commodity labor-power, in the long run its "price" averages its "value"—such a claim appeals to the score alike of science and of common sense.

And then this second statement:

The trades Unions are "centers of resistance against THE ENCROACHMENTS OF CAPITAL". "Encroachment

of capital"! Capital can commit no "encroachment" upon the workingman except by paying for labor-power, in the long run, less than its value. No scientific economist would ever think of saying that the purchaser who paid a lowering price for a yard of calico or a pork-chop "encroached" upon it. With all commodities, labor-power excepted, their value, in the long run, is a thing unencroachable upon.

The edition of the pamphlet from which these two passages are quoted, and from which we quoted before Marx's pointed denial of the claim that the same as with all other commodities, the "price" of labor-power will "in the long run" be found to "adapt itself to its value"—that edition was issued by the Socialist Labor Party about five years ago; we notice the pamphlet is preceded by an introduction, written by the "International Institute of Social Science". Did the "International Institute of Social Science" not even read the work which it wrote an introduction to? Or did the "International Institute of Social Science" read the work, but the information that the work conveyed ran through its head like water runs through a sieve?

The "International Institute of Social Science" considers The People's language on the subject of the "price" and the "value" of labor-power "a jumble of meaningless sentences". No language is meaningful to him who has no grasp of the subject.

## II.

The People's second criticism was as follows:

"The 'share of productive labor in its product' (census 1900) is given in the poster as 23.74 per cent. This is another serious economic error. Statistical tables, intended to portray the amount to which labor is exploited, limp fatally if they stop at the figures for wages received. They must be accompanied by the retail price that labor has to pay with those same wages for the goods that it consumes. The wages paid to labor in the factory to produce a yard of calico will not purchase a yard of the same stuff at retail. Veritable mare's nests do those tumble into who overlook this fact. It is an error that leads directly to the populist mistake of looking at money regardless of its purchasing power. When the purchasing power is considered of the 23.74 per cent, of the share that productive labor receives as wages in the shop, that purchasing power will be found to be between 17-18 per cent. of labor's product—and THAT IS THE REAL 'SHARE OF LABOR IN ITS PRODUCT'."

The answer to the above runs this wise:

"We may now make short work of the remarkable 'criticism' under review. It is a gem of barefaced dishonesty; too stupid-looking, indeed, in its nakedness, to be entirely taken for mere stupidity.

"All those who have looked over the poster, even cursorily, may well ask themselves: 'Has this critic read it? Can he read figures at all? Or does he expect that the readers of it will be blind as he is or wishes them to be?'

"Observe that the estimate of the amount added on the retail market to the wholesale price of the product figures in bold type in the statistical table of the poster for the large sum of \$6,500,000,000 (six and a half billion dollars), which actually represents an average increase of about 50 per cent. over the wholesale prices of all the products that reach the retail market."

"Yet, having before his eyes the total value of productive labor-power on one side, and on the other side the total value of production, including that portion of it which is sold at retail prices, this unique arithmetician reads to the author of the Socialist poster the following lecture, which, by the way, he had first learned verbatim seventeen years ago from the author himself: 'Statistical tables, intended to portray the amount to which labor is exploited, limp fatally if they stop at the figures of the wages received. They must be accompanied by the retail price that labor has to pay with those same wages for the goods that it consumes. The wages paid to labor in the factory to produce a yard of calico will not purchase a yard of the same stuff in retail.'

"As already intimated, this public posing of De Leon, in the matter of retail prices, as the teacher of the man who taught him, is a characteristic piece of impudence."

The People's reply to this is:

1st. As to the side question raised by the answer.—As may be judged from our reply to the first answer, ill would matters stand with us if, indeed, the fountain of our Socialism were the "International Institute of Social Science". If, indeed, such were the fountain of our Marxism, then we would be to-day where the "International Institute of Social Science" is—floundering about, unable to determine where North or South, East or West lie on the sociologic chart; and, inversely, the "International Institute of Social Science" would still be where

we are to-day—still at its old post of Editor of The People, from which it partly dropped itself, and partly was dropped as incompetent. As every student of Marx knows, Marx does not stop at the role that exploitation plays in the factory; that is the central point of his elaboration. Innumerable, however, are the sparkling hints that, in foot-notes and text, he throws out upon the role that exploitation plays in secondary methods and degrees. Fully a dozen pamphlets, if not books, could be written upon these sub-heads. The role that exploitation plays against the workingman on the field of retail, is one of these many subjects taught by Marx himself.

2nd. As to the real question.—The answer is a dodge. The gravamen of the error, of the only error, pointed out by the criticism, is the 23.74 per cent. given in the poster as the "share of productive labor in its product." That figure the criticism called a "serious economic error"; the criticism opens with that point, and closes with the correction that, not 23.74 per cent, but from 17-18 per cent. is "the real share of Labor in its product." The point is left unanswered in the "answer"—unless it be an answer to spend time refuting criticisms that were not made. The criticism indicates the reason why the 23.74 per cent. alleged to be the "share of productive labor in its product" is wrong. The reason indicated is that figures, intended to portray the amount of which labor is exploited, limp fatally if not accompanied by the retail price that the working class has to pay for its cost of living. That reasoning is left unanswered in the "answer"—unless any estimate of the cost of living, however defective the estimate, can be said to remove the limp from the conclusion as to the real rate of exploitation. The only answer, that would have been an answer to the criticism against the 23.74 per cent. "share of Labor in its product", would have been the attempt to justify the six and a half billion dollars given in the poster as the estimate of the cost of living. Such attempt, however unsuccessful, would at least have been straightforward. It would have "joined issue." No such attempt was made. Indeed, it would have failed ludicrously. A glance at pages 14-19 of the second edition of the address on "The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World", together with the note attached thereto on page 49, will reveal the serious omissions—beginning with the ominous item of rent—from the poster's six and a half billion dollar estimate of the cost of living. There was a time when the one redeeming feature of the "International Institute of Social Science" was the accuracy, even brilliancy of its statistical work. For the sake of that, the Socialist Party bore with its otherwise worthlessness. Manifestly, and sorrowful to say, the "International Institute of Social Science" has degenerated even from its one-time only virtue.

3rd. Aside from such pedagogics, typical of the mold in which the whole "answer" is cast, and whether the alleged pamphlet exists or is still to be born, novel is the implied theory that a pamphlet, which is promised to give a comprehensive elaboration of an error, can by any possibility cure the error which it promises comprehensively to elaborate. Common sense says that the error will be multiplied. The attempted distinction between the wholesale markets of raw material and of manufacture, on the ground that, in the one, the sales are "in large blocks", and, in the other, the sales are "at the places of production" in fact, whimsical, unscientific, therefore, misleading.

4th. As to the reference to the Marxian law of value, made to bolster up the whimsicality, nothing need here be added. The "International Institute of Social Science's" grasp of Marx's Law of Value has been covered in our first reply.

Such were the answers to The People's three criticisms. The rest of the answer," that is, more than one-half of the whole, is wholly taken up with coarse vituperation. The People declines to follow the "International Institute of Social Science" into the gutter.

## CALIFORNIA SOCIALISTS CALL FOR AID.

Let the Working Class Respond Promptly and Generously!

To our Readers and Friends:

The letter printed below, written by the California member of the National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party, speaks for itself:

Fruitvale, Cal., April 20, 11 a.m.  
Henry Kuhn, National Secretary, S. L. P. 2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

Dear comrade:—About all our San Francisco comrades are homeless and penniless by this time. Some must be injured and it will be nothing short of a miracle if some have not been killed. We have, so far, no knowledge of any dead. Report has it that McGinty had a leg crushed. But all are homeless, that much is certain and we must help them. Please call for financial aid and send what you get to me as the member of the N. E. C. and the Financial Secretary of the I. W. W. local.

People are pouring into Oakland by the thousands. So far Holmes, Speed, F. Jordan, Meyers and Shankin have reported at S. P. headquarters. I can get camps for many out here, but we shall need help. I have undertaken to help the best I can the women and children of comrades. They must be gotten out of the worst predicament.

Fraternally,

Olive M. Johnson.

There is little to be said in addition, the San Francisco horror being so thoroughly understood by the whole nation. All that is to be said is that action should be speedy. Send what you want to give to the undersigned. Acknowledgment will be made in the Sunday and in the Weekly People. Make all money orders, checks, etc., payable to:

Henry Kuhn,

2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

## CALIFORNIA RELIEF FUND.

A. J. Francis, New York	\$ 2.00
J. H. Jersey City, N. J.	1.00
A. M. Scherer, New York	1.00
H. Unterweiser, New York	.25
H. K. Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00
Collected in Daily People plant upon appearance of appeal; from: S. Wissauer, \$2.50; O. Ripp, \$1; Gus Delz, 50c; H. Liroff, 50c; A. Sand, \$1; Victor Ferrari, \$1; S. J. French, organizer I. W. W., \$1; Gallileo Ferri, 50c; B. R., \$1; H. W., 50c; A. Sater, \$1; J. E. Brooklyn, \$1; W. Bopp, \$1, total 12.50	
H. O. Luderer, New York	2.00
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Eugene Fischer, New York	1.00
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Paterson, N. J., John C. Butterworth, \$1; Ernest Romay, \$1	2.00
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Carl Schluter, Boston, Mass.	1.00
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E. C. Harding, 50c; Geo. Tilton, 50c	
Sympathizer, New York	.25
Ernest M. Orr, Pottstown, Pa.	2.00
Edward J. McCormick, New York	1.00
S. Goldstein, New York	1.00
E. P. M., East Orange, N. J.	4.00
New Brighton, N. Y., Mrs. W. Clark, \$1; B. Clark, \$1; F. Clark	\$2
W. T. Brooklyn, N. Y.	4.00
New York, collected by H. R. Engert, from: H. E. R., \$1; F. W. Zeidler, \$1; Chas. S. Schlesinger, 25; H. S. Smith, \$1; E. F. Wickham, \$1; R. W. Nurse, \$1	2.00
E. Alexander, \$1; F. Miller, \$1; Percy Osborn, \$1; Geo. P. Fleischman, 50c; A. J. Camp, go; R. H. Bosse, 50c; O. W. F. Altstein, 50c; W. Lettau, \$1; H. E. Hutchings, \$1; T. Maguire, 50c; Wm. Johnson, \$1; A. R. Dietz, \$1	14.75
Samuel Donath, New York	1.00
Collected in Shoe shop, 293 8th ave., New York, from: John Donaldson, \$1; Thos. Taylor, \$1	

F. Schults, \$1; C. Boehm, \$1; S. Sandberg, \$1; M. McDowell, \$1; J. Nelson, 25; S. Olsen, \$1; Rosenthal, 50; Christoffer, \$1; Carl Nielson, 50; F. Stricker, \$1; B. Bergius, 25; J. Woxer, \$1; Karl Friberg, \$1; John Anderson, \$1; Edw. Lundin, \$1; J. Lundman, 50; Lindgren, 25; Laufig, 25; Malgadey, 25; H. Haggander, \$1; A. Thiel, \$1; M. T. Nielson, 50; C. Sjogren, 25; J. Johnson, 50; Russa, 50; Kremen, 25; Emil Friberg, 50; G. Schmuck, 50c; Louis Neuman, New York	1.00
John Zimmel, New York	.50
"Discipline"	1.00
F. Britz, New York	2.00
Brooklyn, N. Y., Max Neuhaus, 75; E. Neuhaus, 25	1.00
Paul Weinert, New York	2.00
V. Panovac, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.	1.00
Elizabeth, N. J. Chas. Fallath, 50; B. Burgholz, 50	1.00
New York, G. Popper, \$1; J. P. \$1; D. Scannell, \$1; J. Mahoney, \$1	4.00
C. Schraft, Jersey City, N. J.	2.00
F. Hadsell, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Max Menaker, New York	1.00
F. Brune, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
H. D. Deutsch, New York	\$ 1.00
Rudolph Katz, New York—Newark N. J., F. R. \$1; H. H. 25c	1.25
New York, Dr. L. Bama, \$1; Dr. N. Lifschitz, \$1; P. Stammer, \$1	3.00
Mrs. C. A. Rathkopf, New York	5.00
Brooklyn, N. Y., John Lindgren, \$1; John Howard, \$1; Geo. Signorowitz, \$1; E. F. Wegener, 50	3.50
M. Tompson Port Richmond, N. Y.	.50
Brooklyn, N. Y., collected by L. Oehlecker from: L. M. R. O., \$2; Louis P. Kunz, 50; Geo. Stoifel, 50; L. Grabow, 25; M. J. Nicol, 25	3.50
Washington, D. C. L. Struck, \$1; W. Hammerlindl, \$1; M. R. George, \$2; R. Rod, 50c; E. Domaneck, 50; Josef Tichy, 50; Frank Capelli, 25; L. Roesch, \$1.50; J. Bednarski, 50; Mazzuca, 50; R. Grosschel, 25; Wm. Alisanz, 25	8.75
Albert D. Kuck, Brooklyn, N. Y.	.50
Milford, Mass., T. Florian, \$1; M. Maticka, \$1; Joe Giskra, \$1; Jas. Rowans, \$1; D. Craig, \$1	5.00
Herman Keiser, Providence, R. I.	1.00
David J. Moran, Pawtucket, R. I.	1.00
Section Salem, Mass.	.75
Collected through "Arbetare" office from: Mrs. Nila Malmberg, \$3; L. Meifecke, \$2; Albin Youngquist, \$2; E. Lund, \$1; A. Olson, \$1; A. H. Lyzell, 50; C. J. Bjorklund, 50; G. Grant, 50	10.00
H. B. Friedman, New York	.50
Albert Johnson, Unionport, N. Y. City	1.00
Total	\$ 44.50
Previously acknowledged	\$ 2,586.11
Grand total	\$ 2,630.61

N. Y. S. E. C.  
Regular meeting at headquarters, Daily People Building, 2-6 New Reade street, on Friday, April 27.—More in chair; Pierson absent.

Communications: From Binghamton (2), Utica, Newburgh and Yonkers on matter of notaries. All referred to Correspondence Bureau. From John E. Wallace, telegram and letter of acceptance. Secretary reported petition lists were printed and sent to Sections throughout the State. It was decided to have a special session on May 4th, to take up and conclude matter of securing signatures. It was also decided to begin the tour of State Organizer Rudolph Katz, on the second Monday in May. The details of this tour will also be taken at the special session of May 4. Sections friends, sympathizers and party members are urged to contribute to the State Agitation Fund, in order that this, and another tour contemplated, may be a success.

The Correspondence Bureau rendered a report showing the number of Sections with notaries. The list is complete, with a few exceptions that promise to materialize. After reviewing the report, the meeting adjourned.

J. Ebert, Secretary.

## GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

During the week ending with Saturday, April 28, the following contributions were received to the above fund: Wm. J. Oberding, Goldfield, Nev. \$20.00 Oswald Hopfner, Metuchen, N. J. 1.00 French Branch, balance Lemmonniere funeral fund 1.00 A. J. Francis, com. on Weekly People subs. 1.00 Carl Oberheu, Atchinson, Kans. 1.00 Goe, Woker, New York 1.00 Section Roanoke, Va., John Goodman, \$2.50; W. T. Welsh, \$3.50; J. Urik, \$3.50; J. E. Schmidt, \$2.50; Edward Smith, \$2 14.00 Fred Hoffman, Mohitrose, Colo. 4.00 Herman Lebahn, Montrose, Colo. 1.00

Total \$ 44.50

Previously acknowledged \$ 2,586.11

Grand total \$ 2,630.61

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

## RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONIST FUND.

The following contributions were received during the week ending with Saturday, April 28:

Louis Whitelaw, New York \$1.00 Henry Grinberger, Brooklyn, N. Y. 2.00 Total \$3.00

Previously acknowledged \$ 2,574.79

Grand total \$ 2,577.99

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

**WORKINGMEN AROUSE!**  
THESE ARE STIRRING TIMES IN THE WORLD OF LABOR. THE CAPITALISTS OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAIN STATES HOPE TO DESTROY WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATION. THAT IS THE SECRET OF THE ARREST OF

(Continued from page 1)

still burning city in front of our eyes. So, good by, dear old 'Frisco.

Fred Sibert.

## JANE ROULSTON SAFE.

Friend of S. L. P. Slightly Hurt—Lost Everything in 'Frisco Horror.

San Francisco, April 21.—Your faraway friend came very near going faraway, indeed. I am glad I am alive to write to you—very glad. The scenes of horror and devastation of the last few days are beyond description; but I am alive and only a little hurt (just one foot and one arm, and I am walking about, all right, already, the injury was so slight). The large building in which I lived on the fourth floor collapsed with the earthquake. I escaped as by a miracle. We all got out before the fire attacked the building. In other structures they were not so fortunate. It has been too terrible! Most of the city is camped on the beach and in the park. The place is under martial law. I am with friends, and comfortable. I have lost everything, though. I have no way of hearing from the I. W. W. or S. L. P. men. That part of the city is in ashes and the soldiers will not let any one pass.

Jane A. Roulston,  
1536 Grove Street,  
San Francisco.

TO ORGANIZE IN ALLEGHENY.  
We are going to organize a branch of the S. L. P. in Allegheny on Saturday, May 5, 8 p. m., at 407 East Ohio street, second floor. All those who desire to join are respectfully invited to attend.

Chas. Schnauweirs, Organizer,  
Chas. Schnauweirs, Organizer,

## SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

## THE LAND OF BIG FARMS AND BIG MONOPOLIES.

One of the First Runs Through Three States—One of the Second Owns Kern County and Kern River—Conditions Little Better than Peonage for Employes.

(Special Correspondence.)

Phoenix, Ariz., April 24.—In my last letter to The People from Northern California I referred to the concentration of the natural and social opportunities of that section into the hands of a few big capitalists, with the consequent removal of all hope of "advancement" for the working class. A few additional facts gathered on my tour of Southern California will prove of interest in that connection.

The great valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, extending north and south for more than six hundred miles through the center of California, are practically owned by two or three capitalist concerns. A land grant from Congress in the 60's gave the Southern Pacific Railroad Company a huge slice of this territory, at the same time reducing to tenants or hurling down into the working class a host of settlers who had been hugging the good American delusion of "independence." Simultaneously, other capitalist concerns were reaching out after and gathering in the remaining areas of agricultural, timber, and mineral resources. Among these rivals of the Southern Pacific corporation stands pre-eminent the firm of Miller & Lux, whose possessions range through the three States of California, Oregon and Washington, and are estimated to cover an area of 14,000,000 acres. It is a common saying in California that Mr. Miller, the surviving member of the firm, if he chose, might start on an overland journey from a point in Southern California and in due season arrive in Central Washington without once being under the necessity of getting "off the grass" of his own State.

Another capitalist concern that has a good start on the average workingman of that locality is the Kern County Land Company, whose headquarters are at Bakersfield. This company was formed about thirty years ago, and now holds title to more than 400,000 acres of land in Kern County. In addition to these large holdings, which consist mainly of stock ranches, hay and grain fields, and orange groves, the company also owns and controls the water supply for irrigation purposes in the Kern River; it owns the street railways, electric light, water and gas works of Bakersfield; numerous warehouses in that city, two banks, an oil refinery, a sandstone and brick manufacturing establishment, planing mill, blacksmith, plumbing, paint and machine shops, flouring mill, livery stable, wood yards, and many houses for rent in the city. Six miles from Bakersfield, on Bellevue ranch, the company has established large packing houses, while near town it maintains an athletic park. Last, but not least, this corporation owns the Armory hall in Bakersfield, where a flourishing militia company is kept in trim for possible conflicts with the wage slaves of that section. General Superintendent Jastrow of the Kern County Land Company, for twelve years has also held the office of county supervisor of Kern County, while another company official named Minser is city trustee of Bakersfield. Mayor McDonald, of Bakersfield, is also connected in some way with the Kern County Land Company, and among various holdings in the mayor's name are practically all the houses of prostitution in the city, from which he is said to derive a net revenue of \$100 per day. Bakersfield's chief executive is also agent for the Wieland Brewery Company, of San Francisco, and, as I was informed, derives further income from the sale of tickets in a Mexican lottery.

Thus the Industrial Workers of the World spirit is developing all along the line in California. Comrades here and there, isolated from their fellow comrades, surrounded oftentimes by apathy and indifference, are nevertheless performing the Hercules labor of spreading enlightenment among the rank and file of the working class in their communities, and are digging deep into their pockets to supply the sinews of war for the widespread work of agitation and organization.

Riverside is near the center of the orange belt of California. There are a number of large and small orange packing establishments in that city, employing mainly women and girls. The oranges are